

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

IO-10 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05

BIB-01 NRC-05 /094 W

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P R 230837Z JUN 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1051

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0161

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0293

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL AND DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD JUNE  
16-22, 1975

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. IN THE VIENNA TALKS THIS WEEK, THE  
EAST AGAIN SHIFTED THE FOCUS OF DISCUSSION BACK TO THE  
ISSUE OF ARMEMENT REDUCTIONS IN GENERAL AND NUCLEAR  
REDUCTIONS IN PARTICULAR, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY EASING THEIR  
ATTACKS ON THE ALLIED POSITIONS ON PHASING AND REDUCTION

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COMMITMENTS. IN THE JUNE 19 PLENARY MEETING, THE BULGARIAN REP

STRONGLY STRESSED THE NEED FOR THE WEST TO INCLUDE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THEIR MEANS OF DELIVERY IN REDUCTIONS. IN THE JUNNE 17 INFORMAL SESSION, EASTERN REPS REPEATEDLY ASKED WHETHER THE WEST WAS INCREASING ITS ARMAMENTS IN THE AREA DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND WHETHER THE WEST WAS READY TO CONTROL THE ARMAMENTS RACE BY REDUCING AIR FORCES AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS. AT THE END OF THE INFORMAL SESSION, THE SOVIET REP PROPOSED THAT PARTICIPANTS WORK OUT, IN PARALLEL WITH DISCUSSION OF ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE, AGREED DEFINITIONS AS TO WHAT FORCES SHOULD BE INCLUDED UNDER GROUND FORCES AND UNDER AIR FORCES. THE AD HOC GROUP REPORTED THIS WEEK TO NAC ON THE PHASE II REDUCTION COMMITMENT ISSUE AND REQUESTED GUIDANCE. END SUMMARY.

2. AS IN PREVIOUS ROUNDS OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, THE EAST HAS IN THE CURRENT SIXTH ROUND BEEN SHIFTING ITS LINE OF TACTICAL ATTACK BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN THE "WHOSE FORCES" AND "WHAT FORCES" ISSUES, ALTERNATIVELY STRESSING THE NEED FOR REDUCTIONS BY ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS FROM THE OUTSET AND THE REQUIREMENT THAT THE WEST AGREE TO REDUCE NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES. THE EAST PRESSED HARD IN THE FIRST THREE WEEKS OF THE CURRENT ROUND FOR NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCE REDUCTIONS, SHIFTING ITS FOCUS TO THE "WHOSE FORCES" ISSUE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF JUNE.

3. EASTERN REPS APPARENTLY CONSIDER, AND PROBABLY CORRECTLY, THAT THE WESTERN POSITION ON PHASING HAS BEEN WEAKENED AS A RESULT OF THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE REDUCTION COMMITMENT ISSUE IN THE JUNE 3 INFORMAL SESSION (SEE MBFR VIENNA 262). DURING THE FIRST TWO WEEKS OF JUNE, EASTERN REPS CHARGED THE NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WITH AN ATTEMPT TO AVOID SPECIFIC INDIVIDUAL REDUCTIONS COMMITMENTS, EVEN IN A SECOND PHASE. THIS WEEK, HOWEVER, INDICATING AWARENESS OF REPORTS IN THE LONDON FINANCIAL TIMES OF WESTERN READINESS TO REDUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE EAST TEMPORARILY SET ASIDE THE REDUCTION COMMITMENT AND PHASING ISSUES, AND RETURNED TO DEMANDS FOR INCLUSION OF ALL ARMAMENTS, AND PARTICULARLY NUCLEAR FORCES, IN REDUCTIONS. THE EAST ALSO CAME UP WITH A "NEW INITIATIVE" FOR THIS ROUND -- A PROPOSED DISCUSSION OF FORCE DEFINITIONS.

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4. AT THE JUNE 19 PLENARY MEETING, BULGARIAN REP DICHEV PRESENTED A STATEMENT DEALING EXCLUSIVELY WITH THE NUCLEAR ISSUE. BULGARIAN REP NOTED THE GREAT QUANTITY OF NUCLEAR MUNITIONS OF VARYING POWER IN THE AREA AND STRESSED THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS WERE PARTICULARLY DANGEROUS FOR THICKLY POPULATED AREAS LIKE CENTRAL EUROPE. DICHEV POINTED OUT THAT THE US AND FRG MAINTAINED UNITS AND SUB-UNITS EQUIPPED WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN A STATE OF PERMANENT

MILITARY READINESS, STATED THAT TWO-THIRDS OF US NUCLEAR WARHEADS IN CENTRAL EUROPE WILL BE USED IN BASE OF WAR BY THE WEST EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF NATO AND OBSERVED THAT THE MAJORITY OF SUCH WEAPONS ARE LOCATED ON FRG TERRITORY. HE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT REPORTED ALLIED INTENTIONS TO DEPLOY "MINI-NUKES" ON A LARGE SCALE IN WESTERN EUROPE.

5. IN THIS SITUATION, BULGARIAN REP SAID IT WAS UNREALISTIC AND UNACCEPTABLE FOR THE ALLIES TO MAINTAIN THEIR ARTIFICIAL FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES ALONE. DICHEV SAID IT WAS NECESSARY TO INCLUDE ALL TYPES OF ARMED FORCES, ARMAMENTS AND COMBAT EQUIPMENT IN REDUCTIONS IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THE AGREED AIMS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND TO PUT AN END TO THE ARMS RACE. HE SAID THIS MUST BE DONE ON AN EQUAL AND COMPREHENSIVE BASIS, AS OPPOSED TO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS OF SOVIET TANKS. DICHEV CONCLUDED BY CALLING FOR THE REDUCTION NOT ONLY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THEMSELVES, BUT ALSO OF THEIR VARIOUS DELIVERY SYSTEMS -- MISSILES, AIRCRAFT AND ALSO ARTILLERY.

6. IN THE WEEKLY INFORMAL SESSION, GDR REP OESER LAUNCHED INTO THE SUBJECT OF ARMAMENTS LIMITATIONS, CLAIMING THAT WESTERN REFUSAL TO REDUCE ARMAMENTS, ESPECIALLY AIR FORCES AND NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS, LEFT THE WAY OPEN FOR A DANGEROUS ARMS RACE IN THE AREA. EASTERN REPS PRESSED THE QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THE WEST WAS INCREASING ITS ARMAMENTS IN THE AREA AT THE PRESENT TIME. FRG REP BEHREND SAID THE WEST WAS NOT INCREASING THE SIZE OF WESTERN FORCES IN THE AREA, AND NOTED THAT BOTH SIDES WERE ENGAGING IN FORCE IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS AND EQUIPPING THEIR FORCES WITH MORE MODERN EQUIPMENT. THERE WAS AN ACTIVE DIS-  
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CUSSION OF WHAT WAS MEANT BY THE PHASE IN THE ALLIED OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS, "TAKING INTO ACCOUNT COMBAT CAPABILITY," WITH SOVIET REP KHLESTOV REPEATEDLY ASKING WHETHER THE ALLIES MEANT ONLY TANKS OR ALL GROUND FORCES ARMAMENTS IN THE AREA.

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

IO-10 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05

BIB-01 DRC-01 /090 W

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P R 230837Z JUN 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1052

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0162

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0293

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL AND DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

7. THE ALLIES ALSO PRESSED AGAIN, AT THE INFORMAL, FOR A DISCUSSION OF DATA CARRIED OUT IN PARALLEL WITH A CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE. NETHERLANDS REP DE VOS CHARGED THAT EASTERN REPS WERE RAISING THE PRECONDITION OF A PRIOR SOLUTION OF THESE OTHER ISSUES BEFORE A DATA DISCUSSION COULD TAKE PLACE. KHLESTOV AGAIN DENIED THAT THE EAST HAD POSED PRECONDITIONS FOR A DATA DISCUSSION, BUT FELL BACK TO THE PROCEDURAL DEFENSE THAT PARTICIPANTS HAD ALREADY AGREED TO A SEQUENCE OF PRIOR DISCUSSION OF THE "WHOSE FORCES" AND "WHAT FORCES"

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TOPICS, AND STATED THAT THE EAST WAS NOT PREPARED TO AGREE TO CHANGE THIS SEQUENCE IN ORDER TO ACCOMMODATE A PARALLEL DISCUSSION OF DATA.

8. AT THE TAIL END OF THE JUNE 17 INFORMAL MEETING, THE SOVIET REP STATED THAT THE EAST WISHED TO TAKE STILL ANOTHER INITIATIVE, MOTIVATED BY THE DESIRE TO CONTRIBUTE TO PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. KHESTOV SAID THAT, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT WISHES EXPRESSED (LAST AUTUMN) BY WESTERN REPS, THE EAST PROPOSED THAT AGREED DEFINITIONS SHOULD BE WORKED OUT AS TO WHAT FORCES SHOULD BE INCLUDED FOR THE PURPOSES OF AN AGREEMENT IN GROUND FORCES AND IN AIR FORCES. SUCH DISCUSSION SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT PARALLEL TO A DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE. DRAWING ON A CONTINGENCY POSITION APPROVED BY THE AD HOC GROUP, US REP MADE THE PRELIMINARY COMMENT THAT THE IDEA OF A PARALLEL DISCUSSION WAS CONSTRUCTIVE, BUT THAT, IN THE WESTERN VIEW, IT WOULD BE SIMPLER TO BEGIN WITH A DISCUSSION OF THE FIGURES TO WHICH DEFINITIONS WERE RELATED.

9. THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A DISCUSSION OF DEFINITIONS FOR GROUND FORCES AND AIR FORCES IS EVIDENTLY DESIGNED TO BE THE "NEW EASTERN INITIATIVE" FOR THE SIXTH ROUND. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN EXACTLY WHAT THE SOVIETS HAVE IN MIND WITH THIS PROPOSAL. IN A JUNE 18 BILATERAL TALK WITH A US DELOFF (MBFR VIENNA A-105), SOVIET DELOFF KLUKIN INDICATED THAT GROUND FORCE AND AIR FORCE DEFINITIONS SHOULD COVER BOTH RPT BOTH PERSONNEL AND ARMAMENTS, IN TERMS OF "ELEMENTS OF STRUCTURE" (I.E., "UNITS, OR DIVISIONS"), OF THE ARMED FORCES OF EACH OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA. BOTH KHESTOV AND KLUKIN ALSO STRESSED TO US REPS BILATERALLY THAT THE EASTERN POSITION ON DATA REMAINED UNCHANGED AND THAT AGREED FORCE DEFINITIONS WOULD BE FOR THE PURPOSE OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS ONLY.

10. THE AD HOC GROUP CONCLUDED ITS DISCUSSION THIS WEEK OF THE PHASE II REDUCTION COMMITMENT ISSUE AND APPROVED A REPORT TO NAC ANALYZING THE PROBLEM. IN ADDITION TO THE OPTION OF STANDING PAT ON THIS ISSUE, THE AHG REPORTED LISTED THE THREE FOLLOWING ALTERNATIVE COURSES OF ACTION FOR NAC CONSIDERATION:

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"A. ALL THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS COULD UNDERTAKE A COLLECTIVE COMMITMENT IN A PHASE II AGREEMENT TO REDUCE A SPECIFIC TOTAL OF THEIR COLLECTIVE MANPOWER TO THE AGREED COMMON CEILING LEVEL. THEY COULD INFORM THE EAST AFTER ENTRY INTO EFFECT OF A PHASE II AGREEMENT OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THIS TOTAL AMONG INDIVIDUAL WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

"B. THE ALLIES COULD DECLINE TO DISCUSS THE NATURE OF PHASE II REDUCTION COMMITMENTS AT THIS STAGE. THEY COULD, HOWEVER, SAY THAT, PROVIDED THAT THE EAST AGREED TO A COL-

LECTIVE COMMON CEILING, STATEMENTS COULD BE MADE PRIOR TO SIGNATURE OF A PHASE II AGREEMENT GIVING EACH SIDE INFORMATION AS TO HOW THE OTHER INTENDS TO DISTRIBUTE ITS TOTAL REDUCTION.

"C. PROVIDED THAT THE EAST AGREED TO A COLLECTIVE COMMON CEILING, THE INDIVIDUAL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ON BOTH SIDES COULD UNDERTAKE INDIVIDUAL NUMERICAL REDUCTION OBLIGATIONS IN PHASE II."

AT FRG INSISTENCE, HOWEVER, THE REPORT WAS NECESSARILY A COMPROMISE DOCUMENT, AND CONTAINED NO AHG RECOMMENDATIONS OR DISCUSSION OF PROS AND CONS CONCERNING THE ABOVE ALTERNATIVES.RESOR

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